

SUPPLEMENT TO THE NONCONFORMIST.

VOL. XVIII.—NEW SERIES, No. 653.]

LONDON: THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1858.

[GRATIS.]

THE WAR IN INDIA.

SIEGE OF LUCKNOW.

(From our own Correspondent.)

We have received two letters from our valued Calcutta correspondent, by the last mail, the first dated Calcutta, March 16th, which should have come to hand by the extra steamer, *Bentinck*, in time for our last number; and the second dated on the 24th of the same month, which our readers will regret to see is the last which we can receive from this accomplished and able pen. The first relates to the condition of the army and the city

BEFORE THE ASSAULT.

CALCUTTA, March 16, 1858.

On the 2nd of March, the head-quarters of the army and one division left Banteerah, at five in the morning, under the Commander-in-Chief himself, and marching warily along, passed the Alumbagh, turned round the south of the town along the canal, and seized the Dilkhoosa, driving out a picket of the rebels, and capturing a gun. A battery of four heavy guns was immediately planted towards the Martinière, and began from that time to fire upon the enemy, receiving their fire in return. On the 4th, two days after, the remainder of the army, escorting the heavy siege train, slowly followed and joined the head-quarters. The enemy, however, who had been on the watch, sallied out to attack the ammunition and baggage, but only succeeded in burning three carts. The force reached in perfect safety, and encamped in beautiful order. The ground occupied is of immense extent, larger (says an officer) than the Plain of Calcutta, which is two miles long by half a mile broad; and the camp takes up the whole ground as far as the river Goomty. The Engineers' quarters are in one of the Royal gardens, close to the Dilkhoosa, and the Commander-in-Chief and his staff occupy the palace which it contains. The tents are all pitched under the deep shade of the umbrageous trees. A second battery opened fire on the enemy.

On the evening of the same day (the 4th of March) Brigadier-General Franks marched his column into the camp. Ever since his great victories near Sultanpore, by which he broke up the rebel army operating towards Jaunpore, he has had to fight a series of petty skirmishes, as he pushed along the great road that leads from that place to Lucknow. In several places, especially at the village of Selimpore, small parties of Sepoys hung upon the flanks of his column, and endeavoured to cut off stragglers. A careful watch, however, was kept, and the attempt ended only in the destruction of the assailants. Small mercy was shown then, the cavalry cutting them down wherever they could catch them. On the very day that he joined, he passed a small fort, manned with four guns and about 400 men. The place was attacked and the guns taken, with 200 Sepoys killed. The column was late in its march, and thus numbers were allowed to escape.

Two bridges having been laid over the Goomty, a force was organised to cross to the east side of the river, and hem in the city on the Fyzabad side. The affair was kept quite secret, to prevent the enemy by any possibility from giving trouble. On the 5th the force was detailed; it consisted of the 9th Lancers, 7th Hussars, Punjab cavalry, six infantry regiments, and about thirty guns. Late in the evening twenty of the heavy guns were brought up to the bridges; and the force crossed at sunrise next morning. The whole division numbers more than six thousand men, under the command of Sir James Outram. It at once took up a position on the Fyzabad road, and effectually put a stop to any attempted flight in that direction. Pushing on the day following, General Outram seized the chukerwala koti, the house formerly occupied by Major Gall and his Oude Irregular Cavalry. It is the first in a row of garden-houses along the east bank of the Goomty, in the grounds of which was the cantonment of these Irregular corps. General Outram then despatched Sir Hope Grant with his cavalry and horse artillery, over a wide sweep of country, on the east side of the city, including the cantonments of the European and native regiments some five miles from his position. The brigade was everywhere unopposed. No manœuvres could more effectually impress the rebel army with a conviction that they are shut in. For months they have moved where they liked, commanding the bridges, plundering the bazaars, moving along the high roads, while they surrounded the small band of our brave countrymen in the beleaguered Residency. And now they find the cavalry scour-

ing the country far to the west, destroying Meerunge; then scouring the villages and cantonments on the east, and moving everywhere unopposed; while they themselves must now remain within the city, and fall into relentless hands if they venture out. It was with this feeling that they made an attack upon Sir James Outram's force, the day after he crossed the river; but were immediately driven back with ease. When the division pushes further up the city, and takes possession of all the suburb across the river as far as, and even beyond the iron bridge, the investment of the city on the east side will be more complete. On the south the communication between the camp and the Alumbagh and on to Cawnpore is so complete, that the telegraph has just been carried on to head-quarters; and we can hear in Calcutta what has passed in the camp at the Dilkhoosa a couple of hours ago.

On the city side of the river, the Commander-in-Chief has also advanced along the line of his old route. On the 9th, the Martinière, held in force by the rebels and entrenched, was cannonaded for a couple of hours, and then stormed by the Second Division under Brigadier-General Lugard. The fight being chiefly an artillery one, we lost scarcely any lives. On the 10th, Banks's house was seized, with little resistance. Those regiments and companies that are armed with the Enfield rifle are always placed in the front, and the long range giving them such immense advantage, the rebels have conceived a terrible fear of the weapon, and run off the moment they see their comrades falling under its deadly fire. What a strange thing it is that they should mutiny just when this powerful weapon was about to be given them, as the firelock of the native army; and how singular that this very weapon should play such an important part in the punishment of their crimes! It was owing to the Enfield rifle that Brigadier-General Franks lost so few men in his engagements near Sultanpore. He put the Rifles in front; down went the enemy's gunners; his guns lay silent, and the English troops marched on them without losing a man!

Two or three amusing anecdotes have been running round the papers, respecting the Commander-in-Chief, all illustrative of some peculiarities in our Indian services. During his first advance against Lucknow, as the troops were attacking the Secunderbagh, a knot of gentlemen were watching the proceedings from a distance. One of them, Mr. P., a civilian, was giving his opinion on the manœuvres, and at last said, "Is it not time for the Lancers to charge?" Sir Colin Campbell was close by, and not being able to stand such a criticism, burst out, "Lancers to charge! Sir; who are you, Sir? What do you know about it, Sir? Oh, you are a civilian, are you? then what business have you here, Sir: go to the rear!" and he bundled him off accordingly.

The other day another civilian, Mr. M., was sent to the camp with a view to get information of what went on, and forward it to the Governor-General. Sir Colin Campbell heard of his arrival and sent for him. "You are Mr. M.?" "Yes, Sir." "You are a civilian?" "Yes, Sir." "And you would like an outline of my plans and proceedings?" "I should be very glad of it, indeed, Sir." "I dare say you would; but I'll see you hanged first. Leave the camp, Sir: we don't want you here." Even when the Oude civilians were delivered with the rest of the garrison, he would not let them remain with the force, but sent them on to Allahabad. He refused to give them rations if they remained; and several who were longing to stay could find no shelter and no supplies. In all this the Commander-in-Chief is quite right. It has always been a peculiar element in the Indian Government system, that military expeditions should be accompanied by some officer in a civil capacity: an officer frequently possessing authority over the military commander. The arrangement has led to many collisions of authority, and many disasters in war. It is with these things before him, that Sir Colin Campbell, having taken the responsibility of subduing a formidable rebellion, is determined to have no check on his authority, and no spies upon his movements.

The last story is this. The Superintendent of Telegraphs in the Bengal Presidency is Lieut. Stewart, a remarkably able and active officer, to whom the Government is much indebted for the rapid and complete restoration of telegraphic communication after its destruction by the mutiny. Mr. Stewart travels fast, so fast (says the *Friend*) that his own telegraph is tasked to report his movements, and is busy everywhere. As soon as Havelock advanced from Cawnpore Mr. Stewart was up there putting up new wires: soon after we find him down in Orissa, superintending the new line that connects Calcutta with Madras. Mr. Stewart is a great sportsman, and is always being caught by a tiger, or

ripped up by a bear, or getting into some danger that would at once kill an ordinary man. Lucknow being the place where it is easiest to get killed, of course Mr. Stewart is at Lucknow. The Governor-General gave him permission to go very reluctantly; and at the same time telegraphed to the Commander-in-Chief, that if practicable, Mr. Stewart was not to be killed. Sir Colin read the message, and at the moment spied the object of its affectionate solicitude, going off with his rifle to join a skirmishing party, that was expecting rather dangerous work. "Here," said he, with some strong expletives, "Come out of that; not content with getting yourself killed, you must give me the discredit of it."

THE ASSAULT.

CALCUTTA, March 22, 1858.

Once more the great contest has been decided in the most complete manner: and Lucknow, conquered and deserted, is again entirely in the possession of the English army. The short, pithy telegram has announced that the city contains neither Sepoys nor population; the former having fled, the latter having gathered in the surrounding villages. So far as we learn from the brief announcements forwarded from head-quarters, the whole has been accomplished easily, rapidly, and without those terrific hand-to-hand engagements which have earned for the English and Sikh regiments in the previous advances an imperishable name. In the present case more careful generalship, more extensive materials, and a larger force, have secured a final victory, yet spared on both sides hundreds of lives. The operations have been exceedingly simple; the advance steady, and the victory certain. Your readers will have no difficulty in comprehending the event in the clearest manner.

From the first the Commander-in-Chief resolved to retain in perfect security the important post of the Alumbagh, on the south side of the city. The clear, sound judgment of General Havelock first detected the value of this position; and ever since his advance to the relief of the garrison it has been the base of all operations undertaken against the city. From the Alumbagh, Generals Outram and Havelock marched into the Residency on that wondrous day, when their small English band forced its way through swarms of rebels to the relief of their beleaguered countrymen. From the same post Sir Colin Campbell made his first start in the three days' fighting which made him master of the city and enabled him to withdraw the garrison. The retention of the post, therefore, was of the greatest importance; although the army retired to Cawnpore; and to General Outram was committed the charge of keeping it perfectly secure. He thus taught the rebels to understand how the retirement of the English forces was but temporary; he compelled thousands of them, by fear for the safety of the city, to remain in Lucknow instead of adding to the swarming bands that filled the Doab, still held Fettehguhr, closed the road to Agra, and threatened both Allahabad and Cawnpore. He also secured the command of the Cawnpore road, along which all reinforcements of the army had to march. Sir James Outram, therefore, kept the firmest possession of the Alumbagh encampment. Not only so, he surrounded it with works of various kinds, entrenchments, redoubts, and batteries, so numerous and so extensive, that they spread out to a length of ten miles. He was at various points also protected by extensive swamps, whose numberless feathered tribes in former days furnished sporting amusement for the Lucknow kings. The rebels evidently appreciated the value of the post as well as the English general. They never quitted the city, but rather increased the forces with which they proposed to hold it. They constructed in front of the Alumbagh a formidable line of works, along the south and south-west of Lucknow, from which they endeavoured to assail the English lines; and on several occasions advanced in force with infantry, cavalry, and artillery, determined to capture the place at all hazards. In every case, however, they were baffled, and driven back with great loss. The post was only rendered the more secure; the new army gradually gathered and encamped around it; and the general who had held it so firmly not unnaturally was chosen by Sir Colin Campbell to lead the new attempt to conquer the city for the last time.

You will remember that the greater part of the English army advanced from Cawnpore, with all their vast supply of military stores and ammunition. It was from that side, the south of Lucknow, that the English and Sikh regiments especially, both cavalry and infantry, advanced to the new attack. I have shown your readers also, how on the south-east, on the Benares side, two divisions of the army, containing a large number of our Goorkha allies, gradually approached Luck-

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Two bridges having been laid over the Goomty, a force was organised to cross to the east side of the river, and hem in the city on the Fyzabad side. The affair was kept quite secret, to prevent the enemy by any possibility from giving trouble. On the 5th the force was detailed; it consisted of the 9th Lancers, 7th Hussars, Punjaub cavalry, six infantry regiments, and about thirty guns. Late in the evening twenty of the heavy guns were brought up to the bridges; and the force crossed at sunrise next morning. The whole division numbers more than six thousand men, under the command of Sir James Outram. It at once took up a position on the Fyzabad road, and effectually put a stop to any attempted flight in that direction. Pushing on the day following, General Outram seized the chukerwala koti, the house formerly occupied by Major Gall and his Oude Irregular Cavalry. It is the first in a row of garden-houses along the east bank of the Goomty, in the grounds of which was the cantonment of these Irregular corps. General Outram then despatched Sir Hope Grant with his cavalry and horse artillery, over a wide sweep of country, on the east side of the city, including the cantonments of the European and native regiments some five miles from his position. The brigade was everywhere unopposed. No manoeuvres could more effectually impress the rebel army with a conviction that they are shut in. For months they have moved where they liked, commanding the bridges, plundering the bazaars, moving along the high roads, while they surrounded the small band of our brave countrymen in the beleaguered Residency. And now they find the cavalry scour-

ing the country far to the west, destroying Meerunge; then scouring the villages and cantonments on the east, and moving everywhere unopposed; while they themselves must now remain within the city, and fall into relentless hands if they venture out. It was with this feeling that they made an attack upon Sir James Outram's force, the day after he crossed the river; but were immediately driven back with ease. When the division pushes further up the city, and takes possession of all the suburb across the river as far as, and even beyond the iron bridge, the investment of the city on the east side will be more complete. On the south the communication between the camp and the Alumbagh and on to Cawnpore is so complete, that the telegraph has just been carried on to head-quarters; and we can hear in Calcutta what has passed in the camp at the Dilkhoosa a couple of hours ago.

On the city side of the river, the Commander-in-Chief has also advanced along the line of his old route. On the 9th, the Martinière, held in force by the rebels and entrenched, was cannonaded for a couple of hours, and then stormed by the Second Division under Brigadier-General Lugard. The fight being chiefly an artillery one, we lost scarcely any lives. On the 10th, Banks's house was seized, with little resistance. Those regiments and companies that are armed with the Enfield rifle are always placed in the front, and the long range giving them such immense advantage, the rebels have conceived a terrible fear of the weapon, and run off the moment they see their comrades falling under its deadly fire. What a strange thing it is that they should mutiny just when this powerful weapon was about to be given them, as the firelock of the native army; and how singular that this very weapon should play such an important part in the punishment of their crimes! It was owing to the Enfield rifle that Brigadier-General Franks lost so few men in his engagements near Sultanpore. He put the Rifles in front; down went the enemy's gunners; his guns lay silent, and the English troops marched on them without losing a man!

Two or three amusing anecdotes have been running round the papers, respecting the Commander-in-Chief, all illustrative of some peculiarities in our Indian services. During his first advance against Lucknow, as the troops were attacking the Secunderbagh, a knot of gentlemen were watching the proceedings from a distance. One of them, Mr. P., a civilian, was giving his opinion on the manoeuvres, and at last said, "Is it not time for the Lancers to charge?" Sir Colin Campbell was close by, and not being able to stand such a criticism, burst out, "Lancers to charge! Sir; who are you, Sir? What do you know about it, Sir? Oh, you are a civilian, are you: then what business have you here, Sir: go to the rear!" and he bundled him off accordingly.

The other day another civilian, Mr. M., was sent to the camp with a view to get information of what went on, and forward it to the Governor-General. Sir Colin Campbell heard of his arrival and sent for him. "You are Mr. M.?" "Yes, Sir." "You are a civilian?" "Yes, Sir." "And you would like an outline of my plans and proceedings?" "I should be very glad of it, indeed, Sir." "I dare say you would; but I'll see you hanged first. Leave the camp, Sir: we don't want you here." Even when the Oude civilians were delivered with the rest of the garrison, he would not let them remain with the force, but sent them on to Allahabad. He refused to give them rations if they remained; and several who were longing to stay could find no shelter and no supplies. In all this the Commander-in-Chief is quite right. It has always been a peculiar element in the Indian Government system, that military expeditions should be accompanied by some officer in a civil capacity: an officer frequently possessing authority over the military commander. The arrangement has led to many collisions of authority, and many disasters in war. It is with these things before him, that Sir Colin Campbell, having taken the responsibility of subduing a formidable rebellion, is determined to have no check on his authority, and no spies upon his movements.

The last story is this. The Superintendent of Telegraphs in the Bengal Presidency is Lieut. Stewart, a remarkably able and active officer, to whom the Government is much indebted for the rapid and complete restoration of telegraphic communication after its destruction by the mutiny. Mr. Stewart travels fast, so fast (says the *Friend*) that his own telegraph is tasked to report his movements, and is busy everywhere. As soon as Havelock advanced from Cawnpore Mr. Stewart was up there putting up new wires: soon after we find him down in Orissa, superintending the new line that connects Calcutta with Madras. Mr. Stewart is a great sportsman, and is always being caught by a tiger, or

ripped up by a bear, or getting into some danger that would at once kill an ordinary man. Lucknow being the place where it is easiest to get killed, of course Mr. Stewart is at Lucknow. The Governor-General gave him permission to go very reluctantly; and at the same time telegraphed to the Commander-in-Chief, that if practicable, Mr. Stewart was not to be killed. Sir Colin read the message, and at the moment spied the object of its affectionate solicitude, going off with his rifle to join a skirmishing party, that was expecting rather dangerous work. "Here," said he, with some strong expletives, "Come out of that; not content with getting yourself killed, you must give me the discredit of it."

THE ASSAULT.

CALCUTTA, March 22, 1858.

Once more the great contest has been decided in the most complete manner: and Lucknow, conquered and deserted, is again entirely in the possession of the English army. The short, pithy telegram has announced that the city contains neither Sepoys nor population; the former having fled, the latter having gathered in the surrounding villages. So far as we learn from the brief announcements forwarded from head-quarters, the whole has been accomplished easily, rapidly, and without those terrific hand-to-hand engagements which have earned for the English and Sikh regiments in the previous advances an imperishable name. In the present case more careful generalship, more extensive materials, and a larger force, have secured a final victory, yet spared on both sides hundreds of lives. The operations have been exceedingly simple; the advance steady, and the victory certain. Your readers will have no difficulty in comprehending the event in the clearest manner.

From the first the Commander-in-Chief resolved to retain in perfect security the important post of the Alumbagh, on the south side of the city. The clear, sound judgment of General Havelock first detected the value of this position; and ever since his advance to the relief of the garrison it has been the base of all operations undertaken against the city. From the Alumbagh, Generals Outram and Havelock marched into the Residency on that wondrous day, when their small English band forced its way through swarms of rebels to the relief of their beleaguered countrymen. From the same post Sir Colin Campbell made his first start in the three days' fighting which made him master of the city and enabled him to withdraw the garrison. The retention of the post, therefore, was of the greatest importance; although the army retired to Cawnpore; and to General Outram was committed the charge of keeping it perfectly secure. He thus taught the rebels to understand how the retirement of the English forces was but temporary; he compelled thousands of them, by fear for the safety of the city, to remain in Lucknow instead of adding to the swarming bands that filled the Doab, still held Futteghur, closed the road to Agra, and threatened both Allahabad and Cawnpore. He also secured the command of the Cawnpore road, along which all reinforcements of the army had to march. Sir James Outram, therefore, kept the firmest possession of the Alumbagh encampment. Not only so, he surrounded it with works of various kinds, entrenchments, redoubts, and batteries, so numerous and so extensive, that they spread out to a length of ten miles. He was at various points also protected by extensive swamps, whose numberless feathered tribes in former days furnished sporting amusement for the Lucknow kings. The rebels evidently appreciated the value of the post as well as the English general. They never quitted the city, but rather increased the forces with which they proposed to hold it. They constructed in front of the Alumbagh a formidable line of works, along the south and south-west of Lucknow, from which they endeavoured to assail the English lines; and on several occasions advanced in force with infantry, cavalry, and artillery, determined to capture the place at all hazards. In every case, however, they were baffled, and driven back with great loss. The post was only rendered the more secure; the new army gradually gathered and encamped around it; and the general who had held it so firmly not unnaturally was chosen by Sir Colin Campbell to lead the new attempt to conquer the city for the last time.

You will remember that the greater part of the English army advanced from Cawnpore, with all their vast supply of military stores and ammunition. It was from that side, the south of Lucknow, that the English and Sikh regiments especially, both cavalry and infantry, advanced to the new attack. I have shown your readers also, how on the south-east, on the Benares side, two divisions of the army, containing a large number of our Goorkha allies, gradually approached Luck-

now at the same time, and in concert with the Commander-in-Chief himself. General Franks, in command of 5,000 men, fought his way to Sultanpore, and thence to the camp at Lucknow, while Jung Bahadur, at the head of 11,000 Goorkhas, left Goruckpore, crossed the Gogra, and falling into General Franks's track, reached the attacking army about a week later. The Commander-in-Chief having pushed on about 22,000 men from the Cawnpore side, the invading army, including its three divisions and that at the Alumbagh, numbered at the commencement of its attack nearly 40,000 men. Unlike the forces gathered in various places at the outbreak of the mutiny, and even on subsequent occasions, this army was very strong in cavalry, both English and Sikh; while its artillery, both in respect to the size of its guns and the amount of its ammunition, was much more formidable than the annals

Indian warfare have ever yet seen. The line of advance followed on the city itself was the same as that adopted by Sir Colin Campbell on his first capture of the city. It lay along the River Goomty, up the south-east side of the city. The first step made in the efforts which were to conquer the rebel force, was the seizure of the Dilkhusa park and garden, on the 2nd of March. Between this park and the upper end of the city, the Musabagh, distant at least six miles, there had been formed, at various points, strong entrenchments, behind which the rebels were determined to fight, step by step, defending every inch of ground with all the vigour inspired by despair. These entrenchments stretched on the east to the River Goomty; and on the west, into the crowded streets of the city. They were of the most massive character; had occupied in their construction only three months; and did great credit to the skill and perseverance of the men by whom they were formed. Unhappily for the success of their cause, they were commanded in flank from the opposite side of the river; a point which the rebels forgot or overlooked; and the skill and prudence of the Commander-in-Chief took such effectual advantage of this defect, as to render them almost useless to the rebels who swarmed behind them.

Having seized the Dilkhusa with the advanced guard of the army, the Commander-in-Chief speedily brought up all the ammunition and guns, and pitched the camp in the most regular order around his own position. General Franks joined on the 4th, and the Nepaul Rajah a week after. A desultory firing was kept up by the opposing parties; but it was evident that the preparations for the grand contest were not yet completed. On the 5th Sir Colin Campbell published a most important order, exhibiting in the clearest manner the plan of his attack. He directed one division of the army, strong in cavalry, and placed under the command of General Outram, to cross the Goomty, with a battery of heavy guns; and thus intimated, that as he himself pushed up the city on the west bank against each line of works held by the enemy, General Outram's division would advance up the eastern bank, and taking those works in flank, dislodge the rebels without trouble. The front and flank attacks would be made at the same time, after a heavy artillery fire, and both banks of the river be cleared simultaneously. Two bridges, brought with the force, were next thrown over the Goomty, and the same evening twenty-two guns were brought to the river side, and crossed over early the following day. On the 7th Gen. Outram made his first advance, and seized the Chukur Kotee, or Race House, formerly the headquarters of an irregular cavalry regiment under Major Gall; and took possession of other houses and grounds, which had formed the cantonment of part of the old Oude force. General Grant, with a large cavalry force, and a body of horse artillery, then swept over the country, around these old cantonments, to a point far up the city, but was everywhere unopposed. Gen. Outram thus secured a good post on the road from Lucknow to Fyzabad, and prevented escape in that direction. The position in cantonments was not, however, secured without loss. Capt. St. George was killed; also Major Smith, 2nd Dragoons. When General Outram advanced to the Chukur Kotee, six of the rebels got enclosed in one of the lower rooms: their position rendered them desperate, and though they were boldly attacked, they killed Capt. St. George, Lieut. Anderson, four privates of the 1st Fusiliers, and two Sikhs; and also wounded five others, before they were themselves killed.

On the 9th the contest really began. From an early hour, Gen. Outram, with his heavy guns, bombarded the first line of the enemy's works in flank, throwing his balls and shell across the river. At the same time the Commander-in-Chief bombarded the same point from the front. Directly situated behind the enemy's entrenchment was the Martinière held by a considerable force of rebels. The first fight was with them. At noon, after a heavy fire from both sides of the river, a large party of the 42nd and 93rd Highlanders, and the 4th Punjaub Infantry, were told off for the assault: and advancing with rapidity and spirit soon drove out the rebels, who ran without hesitation, and retreated along the canal towards the city, carrying their guns with them. The Martinière and first line of entrenchments were thus captured: but not only so, the left flank of the second line of defence, extending down to the river, also fell into our hands, and a sound basis was secured for future success. The loss on the English side was but small: three officers and sixty-five men being wounded on both banks of the river. Amongst them,

Capt. Peel was severely wounded in the thigh by a musket ball, while in the trenches before the assault. A furious cannonade from the English batteries, on both sides the river, was kept up without cessation on the 10th and 11th; Gen. Outram's batteries proving of the greatest service, by taking the enemy in reverse, while the chief force advanced in front. On the 10th, Banks's House was taken, and a number of houses in its neighbourhood. On that day, also, Rajah Maun Singh, about whose movements so much anxiety has been felt, and whose life and honour have been guaranteed by the Governor-General, came into the camp. In his interview with the Commander-in-Chief, he gave in his adhesion to the Government, and promised to bring all his retainers, 8,000 in number, into Lucknow, in the course of ten days.

On the 11th, the bombardment still going on incessantly, Gen. Outram pushed his troops up as far as the stone bridge, about the centre of the city, and planted batteries upon the iron bridge a little to the south of it, so as to command the approaches to both. Capt. Moorsom and an officer in the Rifles were both killed during these operations, at the head of the iron bridge; and two others were badly wounded. The loss of Capt. Moorsom was felt to be very great; his efficiency being well-known to all, and acknowledged by none more completely than by Sir James Outram, who had placed him on his own staff. All the officers of the division attended his funeral, Sir James leading them as chief mourner. In the afternoon, under a tremendous musketry fire, the 93rd and the 4th Sikhs advanced amidst deafening cheers to attack the Begum's Palace. The place had been made exceedingly strong, by three lines of loopholed walls and a deep ditch; it was crowded with Sepoys, and their resistance was most obstinate. The Highlanders and Sikhs, however, went boldly on, and were received with a heavy musketry fire from the loopholed walls. They dashed down, however, into the ditch and up the other side in a moment, but were unable to get in, being hindered by an 18-pounder in the road beyond. Three guns, however, soon came up; the enemy's fire was silenced; and after a short but fierce struggle, the place was won. Five hundred of the Sepoys were killed within the defences; the rest ran away. Major Macdonald and another officer of the 93rd were killed in the assault. Captain Hodson also, whose career as a cavalry officer has won him so much honour, and who seized the King of Delhi after the capture of the city, was killed with these officers, while accompanying the 93rd as a volunteer. This loss has been greatly regretted. Immediately after the capture of the Begum's Palace, the force pressed on to the Secundra-bagh, where the 2,000 Sepoys were killed by the 93rd in November last. It was taken on this occasion without opposition. By these operations, including the capture of the bridges and of all the palaces on the south-east of the city, the army secured even more than it held at the final relief of the garrison. But there was serious work to be done still. The heavy cannonade never ceased. As fast as each position was won, a new battery was erected to secure still further advances. On the 12th, after the usual exterminating fire from the artillery, the troops advanced on the Motee Mahal, a large palace on the west bank of the river, having the mess-house close by. After a short struggle the former of these positions also were added to the conquests of the English army. During the night a storm of shells was directed against the Kaiserbagh, the palace in which the King used to reside. It was one of the last and strongest of the defences entrenched by the rebels; and they were thus becoming enclosed within very narrow limits. The mess-house was also shelled on the morning of the 14th; and the old Imambarrah, an immense building with courts and halls, close to the chief gate of the city, the Durwaza-i-Roum. A breach having been effected, the Imambarrah was stormed at 9 o'clock a.m. The troops under the immediate command of Sir Colin Campbell himself, pressed rapidly on, and before the afternoon, the Kaiserbagh also was in complete occupation of the invading force. This immense palace, with its numerous courts and out-buildings, had been made exceedingly strong, and the Commander-in-Chief expressed great anxiety to see it carried completely without great loss to our men. The cannonade directed against it was of the most furious kind; and after its capture it was found perfectly strewn with musket balls, round shot, and fragments of shells. Five hundred dead bodies were taken out by our men. The palace itself suffered much from the artillery. Indeed, the effects of our crushing fire, on every building that came within its range, are described as "awful," "something wonderful," and "almost incredible," by those who have witnessed them; all showing how thoroughly the batteries performed their allotted task.

It was evident that the courage and hopes of the rebels were now rapidly giving way, and that they were looking out for means of escape. Sir James Outram's column, extending over a wide space, and serving several batteries, was not strong enough to command both the stone and iron bridges leading to the open country to the north and west. The moment therefore the Kaiserbagh was taken, vast numbers began to stream out of the city and entrenchments, towards the Alumbagh on the west and over the stone bridge on the east. Brigadier Campbell, who was well placed to the left of the Alumbagh, was at once detached in pursuit with a strong brigade of cavalry and two troops of horse artillery. On the 15th,

the troops having advanced, both bridges were completely occupied, and General Grant was despatched on the Seetapore road to intercept those fugitives who might be turned by Brigadier Campbell's pursuit. He had 1,000 men with him and two troops of horse artillery, infantry following him a day or two after. The troops encouraged by these signs of victory continued their advance, occupied the Meechi Bawan, beyond the stone bridge, also the Gaon Ghat, and the new Imambarrah, with its extensive buildings and fortified squares. At the same time the Nepaul force, under Jung Bahadur himself, advanced on the west of the city, and took complete possession of all the works, from which for several weeks the rebels had assailed the Alumbagh. By these operations they were driven completely out of the city, and all its palaces on the eastern side of Lucknow, only one position being still held by them on the north-east. This position the Musa Bagh, is an old palace belonging to some of the royal ladies of Lucknow, and from the time of the annexation, was occupied as the head-quarters of the 4th and 7th regiments of Oude Irregular Infantry. It was at the Musa Bagh that the first mutiny in Lucknow took place, which was crushed so speedily by the promptitude of Sir Henry Lawrence. On the 18th the troops advanced through the narrow lanes beyond the Daulotkhana and the new Imambarrah, and attacked the Musa Bagh: its defenders were unable to stand the guns and the charge of their disciplined foes, and fled precipitately. Thus the last refuge of rebellion in Lucknow fell into our hands; and once more the city became entirely our own. 117 guns in all have been taken. In one of the later contests fell, bravely leading on his men, one of our Christian soldiers, Col. Ingram, of the 97th, the friend of Captain Vicers. It is pleasing to add, that two officers in Jung Bahadur's force succeeded in opening communications with Mrs. Orr and Miss Jackson, who had all this time been detained prisoners, and finally brought them safe into the camp. They have been preserved by Meer Majeed Ali Darogah, the trustee of the Lucknow Imambaras, and have been treated kindly. What has become of the fugitives whether they have dispersed among the villages, or been cut up by Brigadier Campbell and General Grant, or gone forward into Rohilcund, to join Nana Sahib at Shahjehanpore, or Khan Bahadur at Bareilly, we do not know. They will not, however, be able to do much in Rohilcund. While General Grant and his cavalry are rapidly following them from Lucknow, and General Penny, and Brigadier Chamberlain are marching on Bareilly from Meerut, they will have little time to make entrenchments and gather new guns and ammunition. If they have not scattered themselves among the numerous forts of Oude itself, it seems to me that there is now strong ground for believing that the last remains of the rebellion will soon be crushed out. The mutineers have no leaders whom they trust and obey; they have few guns left; they cannot gather into fortified cities, unless they make a dash on Delhi; their spirit is "demoralised;" we cannot expect therefore that they can long hold together. Rohilcund has not been invaded till now; but General Penny has everything ready for clearing it. The Kotah contingent have held that city since they murdered Major Burton and his sons; but General Roberts with his two brigades marched from Nussurabad against them on the 10th of March, and will soon drive them out. The Calpee rebels still hold to one another; but the Sikhs, 1,200 strong, lie between them and Cawnpore; and Sir Hugh Rose, after capturing the Bundela forts, and routing the Kinglings of that hilly territory, is gradually approaching Calpee and the Jumna, which it commands. The rebels on the east of Oude are kept in check by Colonel Rowcroft and the Bengal Yeomanry, who gave them such a severe defeat a month ago.

POSITION AND PROSPECTS.

The rebels are broken up, their armies are gone, their strongholds taken, and I think we may now say that the military portion of our efforts to restore peace begins to see an end of its toil. The rebels are now manageable, and before the hot weather fully sets in I hope that the hard work of the army will be over. You know that in the midst of great successes I have always kept your attention fixed on the work yet remaining to be done—the rebel force still unsubdued—and have urged the necessity of continued reinforcements in order that that work might not fail of its accomplishment. It is from no change of mere spirits that I now assume a more confident tone; but because I think that a calm survey of Upper India will show how small is the opposition still requiring to be suppressed. I once thought that even when the war was over we should be troubled for years by individual hate and private massacres. But I am inclined to hope better now. Natives, when thoroughly beaten, are not slow to accept the fact and to give in. And I am disposed to think that, after all that has been done, they will be ready to acknowledge they are fairly conquered, and will submit to their masters even more completely than before. Indications of such a state of things already beginning to appear. In those parts of the country from which the rebels have been driven, English travellers may now be constantly seen journeying alone and in safety, as they did in former days. Even ladies have begun (though imprudently) to attempt the same thing. When the rebels depart and a strong body of

troops marches through a country, the people get quiet at once. It may be, therefore, that in a short time the same security and the same order will exist as under the old regime. In the words of a native banker in Delhi, writing to one of his Agra constituents: "Red pepper is up in the market; black pepper is unsaleable."

SOLDIERS VINDICATED.

Many charges have lately been brought in England against the English soldiers in India for indulging too much in a murderous spirit in their contests with the enemy, and even with natives generally. As an answer to these charges I wish to draw your particular attention to the following facts communicated by an officer present with the force in all the recent operations at Lucknow. The men have, on the whole, dealt with the people at large in a most gentle and forbearing manner. Women, children, citizens, peasants, often got mixed up with the Sepoys in their flight from Lucknow, but in no case have such persons been intentionally killed. On the contrary, it was a common sight to see the English troops helping them out of the way, putting up their bundles, taking up their children, dressing them out in the most fantastic manner, and doing their best to get them safe away to their villages. All the peasants of the villages across the river, first taken by General Outram, speak most gratefully of the kindness and protection experienced by them at the soldiers' hands. The men are quite aware that in many cases they have let even Sepoys escape, from being unable to distinguish them from other people when they had thrown away their dress and arms!

TRIAL OF THE KING.

The trial of the King of Delhi has at length come to an end, having lasted twenty days. On the last day, a large assembly of ladies and gentlemen gathered together to hear the defence which he makes to all the charges of cruelty, murder, and rebellion, which have been laid against him. The translation was read by the interpreter: it was a lame and feeble statement, corroborating, to a great extent, the facts which had been proved against him, and admitting others to be true. The King declares that he was powerless in the hands of the mutineers, and that many of the documents to which his name was set were really the production of his son, Mirza Mogul, who was shot by Captain Hodson. He declares that he never ordered any Europeans to be killed. After the reading of this paper, Major Harriott, the Judge-Advocate, who has conducted the prosecution, addressed the court for three hours, giving a most masterly summary of all the evidence which had been presented, and endeavouring, in the fullest manner, to bring the charges home to the King himself. His address was listened to with profound attention, and greatly admired for its earnestness, clearness, and ability. The court then deliberated on their verdict; but that has not yet transpired; though it can scarcely be doubted that the King will be declared GUILTY. The evidence gathered on the trial, especially the official papers of the mutineers, and the statements of the native residents, have thrown much light on the painful progress of the revolt in Delhi, especially the destruction of our countrymen, about which for several months nothing was known beyond mere reports. It is to be hoped that these papers will be published. I have never seen it mentioned in the newspapers that on the destruction of Delhi an immense public injury was done by the destruction of the library of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe; the finest library in Northern India. It had been gathered during a long series of years by the well-known members of the family, including Sir Charles; and their house, long the Residency in Delhi, was fitted up in a manner far superior to that of any other English officer's in the city. The library contained the unique copy of Junius, with the manuscript notes, upon which the question of Francis's authorship chiefly turns. But all is gone. Every book, picture, and article of vertu was destroyed by the rabble. The same kind of loss was inflicted at Indore, in the utter destruction of the noble mansion of Sir Robert Hamilton, with its costly furniture and fittings.

POSITION OF THE REBELS.

Bands of rebels still hold detached portions of the country. Near Futtehguhr, a band crossed the Ramgunga from Oude with four guns; but not having screwed their courage up to the fighting point, they marched back again, especially when the detachment at Meerun Ki Serai was called in to Futtehguhr in order to keep that important station perfectly secure. The rebels have been left undisturbed at Rohilkund, except in the defeat given to one of their little armies by Col. M'Causland near Huldani. Fuzl Hug, who commands another, has also been defeated. His men, 200 in number, came down, collecting revenue; but a detachment of the Goorkha 66th regiment came suddenly upon them, caught them shut up in a little fort, and killed every man. We may speedily look for important intelligence from Rohilkund, as Brig. Chamberlain and Gen. Penny are marching into it from Meerut.

Bundelkund is one of the most troublesome provinces to deal with. The remains of the Gwalior army, of the Dinapore regiments, and of the Jubbulpore mutineers, are still at large; and thousands of plundering Bundelas are only too ready to take advantage of the disorder by turning their hand against everybody. Sir Hugh Rose, however, is marching from Saugor with his powerful column: and the affair which I mentioned in my last

letter seems to have been exceedingly useful in driving the rebels towards the frontiers of the district. On the 3rd of March he forced the pass of Muddunpore, then held by swarms of Bundelas and 500 Sepoys of the 31st, 42nd, and 52nd regiments. The rebels lay hid in the jungle that thickly covered the slopes of the hills up which the pass is formed. Major Orr advancing his guns threw several shells into the jungle, which swarmed with rabble, who kept up a heavy fire on the English column. After a time the English troops and native police entered the jungle at various parts, and by hand-to-hand contests drove the enemy out. They then fled from their cover to the village of Muddunpore. Here they made a stand, firing again into the victorious army. Shells from a howitzer soon drove them out, and they finally fled towards Serai. Captain Abbott pursued them with his cavalry about four miles, and killed from fifty to sixty, of whom half were Sepoys in uniform. It was reported that they intended to flee to the northward towards Jhansi, and that they would forsake all the forts and walled villages which have given them so little protection against the English artillery. If this be true, it will be a great help; for Bundelkund, from its hilly character, might give a great deal of trouble if held by a man like Nana Sahib: and every effort is being made to clear the enemy out, before they can require a firm hold upon the district. Proclamations have been issued by Sir R. Hamilton, confiscating the estates of the Rajahs of Shahguhr and Muddunpore, who joined the rebels against the Government. These petty contests, together with the difficulty of obtaining supplies, have had a very unfavourable influence upon Sir Hugh Rose's advance. He was expected some time ago at Calpee on the Jumna, in order to drive away the remains of the Gwalior army, and guard the road leading to Cawnpore. This proceeding would have set free an English brigade, including the 88th and 82nd regiments, who were performing that duty in his stead, and have permitted them to help in completing the cordon that was investing Lucknow. As it was, a Sikh regiment arrived to take the place of the brigade, which immediately marched for Lucknow. The Gwalior rebels at once advanced, the Sikhs fell back on Cawnpore, and the brigade was recalled. Amidst so much that is gratifying and successful, inferior failures of this kind must be expected, and borne with. In most other parts of the country the civil authorities seem gradually acquiring a fresh hold upon the population.

THE RETRIBUTION.

Punishments have been very severe and continue to be so. To us who have gradually acquired a strong dislike to frequent executions, the loss of life among the rioters of the native population seems very large. At Delhi, apart from the destruction in war, by artillery, bayonets, and cholera, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe has hanged nearly a thousand of the villains with which the city was filled. At Allahabad, the magistrate and other special commissioners have hanged about nine hundred. At Benares, Cawnpore, Meerut, Agra, the executions have been very numerous also. It seems that nearly ten thousand have been hanged during the last six months—a frightful number—in addition to about 30,000 who have been killed or died of wounds in war. A frightful number! Yet many, good Christian men too, say that the right men have been punished—that for years a very bad population has grown up, ill-kept in subjection by our humane laws. This population has everywhere run riot, and killed and plundered, whenever outward restraint failed. They say, too, that the punishment has done good where it has been administered. In Agra, where a lenient magistrate has not punished even murderers, the people are more impudent than in all other parts of Upper India. The natives will find that their rebellion has cost them very dear—that in their trades, in the labour they so extensively carried on under Europeans, in the situations they held, the large amount they drew in salaries, as well as in the destruction of life, they have suffered an immense loss. On the Sepoy class, the Hindoo and Mussulman peasantry of Oude, the loss will fall with peculiar severity. Out of 140,000 men, of whom the native army in Bengal consisted, there cannot be more than 30,000 men who continue to draw pay; at least one hundred thousand have discharged themselves. In so doing they have lost their present pay, they have lost their prospective pensions, they have destroyed the pensions of thousands of the discharged men who joined them in rebellion, and they have lost the service permanently, since all enlistment for the future auxiliary army will be made from the Sikhs, Affredies, Goorkhas, and other spirited tribes with varied interests, instead of being restricted so extensively to the Hindostanees of Oude. It is rarely that such an extensive change is forced upon the habits and character of a population: it is to be hoped that the Hindostanees will make as good a use of their punishment as the Sikhs did after the disarming of the Punjab.

The settlement on the Andaman Islands may now be regarded as an accomplished fact. Dr. Walker, the well-known and most able superintendent of the Agra jail, has been appointed governor of the islands, with summary powers; and a few days ago proceeded to the new settlement at Port Blair, in the Company's steamer *Semiramis*. A shipload of convicts from Calcutta, and another from Bombay, have been forwarded to the same place to be the first settlers. Extensive supplies of all kinds have been also conveyed thither, and everything has been prepared both to secure their safety and supply

their wants. The convicts are to be partly armed, and are to be employed both in clearing the settlement and erecting the necessary buildings. The *Semiramis*, for the present, will remain as a guard-ship, but ultimately will be replaced by the *Sesostris*. It is said that many of the convicts expressed great anxiety as to their destination, having no doubt the usual native horror of the "wild men," who are considered by the people not men but hobgoblins.

A CORRECTION.

I see that "Judex," a pompous civilian well known in Upper India, is still writing to the *Times*, and trying to show that the Mussulman population, as such, have not taken a more active part in the rebellion than the Hindoos. After parading his travels through Delhi and Agra, Allahabad and Benares, he sketches all the Mussulman population from Cape Comorin northwards, and pronounces *ex cathedra* that they are an innocent set of people. His letter does not by any means give all the facts, while it contains a large amount of special pleading. His whole argument is upset by this simple fact. Wherever the Mohammedans were unchecked and could rise, there they did rise, and committed atrocities far more extensively than any others of the population. Witness the details, told on the best authority, in Delhi, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Bareilly, Futtehguhr, Lucknow, and Agra. In some places, as in Benares, Ghaseepore, and Patna, they were kept in complete check, and were afraid. Agra is a particularly bad case. When the mutiny broke out, the magistrate was Mr. Drummond, a civilian, Mohammedan mad, who held the opinion that native Christians are much worse than either Hindoos or Mussulmans. He gathered round him a large number of Mohammedan police. One of these men hearing a man talk about the Company's Government, said in reply, the Company's Government is gone, and out the man down. Mr. Drummond neither punished the murderer nor even apprehended him. Another committed the same kind of atrocity, and also was left free. These men killed Mr. Hubbard, the principal of the college at their police-station; and on the day of the first battle of Agra, brought the Kotah contingent and other men into the station. Thirty-two persons were killed in various houses that night, by the police and the rabble. Agra is well known for its proud disorderly Mohammedans. Even after the garrison were set free by Colonel Greshed, they showed far less respect to Europeans than the people of any other city in North India. Three times have the Mohammedans of Allyghur been put down, and three times have they renewed disorder in their town. In Bareilly, Futtehguhr, Cawnpore, Futteh-pore, and Allahabad, all the leaders of rebellion and murder (with the exception of Nana Sahib) were Mohammedans. In all these cases the Hindoos, owing to the loss of their peculiar privileges in Oude, became willing tools in the hands of Mohammedans; but all the plans, projects, and management throughout were of Mohammedan origin and growth. Excepting Nana Sahib and Kowar Singh, each of whom had special causes of enmity to the Company, all the leaders who have distinguished themselves have been Mohammedans. It is unfair, therefore, to forget and ignore these facts in order to prove an unsound theory, that any special class of the population is against us. The peculiar bigotry and fanaticism of the Mussulmans, which are implacable and never satisfied, ought never to be lost sight of. "Judex" points to Patna as a place in which the Mohammedan element did not break out: utterly ignoring the fact that Mr. Taylor's vigorous measures cowed them from the first; and that when he was displaced, Mr. Samuells's coadjutor, Amier Ali, was their own lawyer! The latter knew his men, and is said to have flogged them to the extent of some 20,000, for fear their delinquencies should come to light.

FUTURE GOVERNMENT.

I need scarcely say a word against the Honourable East India Company's petition to the House of Commons, since others, I find, have advanced both those and other reasons in the house itself. Whatever be the difficulties from patronage and other questions which lie in the way of the removal of the Court, there are far greater difficulties involved in the continuance of the double government. The Court are compelled to allow that they have been in many cases overridden by the Board of Control; yet to the last no one has known where the responsibility of any Indian measures could be laid. They argue that there ought to be a board between the Minister and India, for fear lest measures should be enforced which are not suitable to the country. But they allow that even under the old system such measures could be enforced, and were enforced, though they were opposed to them. Should Lord Palmerston's bill be carried (even with "improvements" by Lord Ellenborough), it will go far towards placing the government of India in the hands of men upon whom responsibility can be fixed. I do not myself think that a board of eight or more "experienced Indians" is such a safe or wise arrangement as many imagine. It is still too cumbrous, but it may do well as an intermediate change, and can be improved hereafter, if found to work ill. A board of four, taking charge of different departments, with a president over all, would probably be found to work more easily.

The Home Government is of course a most important element in the government of India, since it is the ultimate appeal on all questions of policy, and even on the laws which are passed here. I hope that, however

much it may be improved, the House of Commons and the people of England will watch it more closely than they have ever done. It is THERE that good government for India must be secured. The house could not manage the Directors; but it can direct the new Board. Some of the worst measures that have come out to India seem to have emanated from the old one. The most recent, the inquiry as to the officers of Government who have contributed most liberally to missionary schemes, came from Mr. Vernon Smith; it never went further than a "previous communication," but the *animus* was undeniable. After the steady support given to Lord Canning's inefficiency by the Palmerston Ministry, and their refusal to listen to the Calcutta petition, to the objections against the Press Act, and other complaints, we cannot help rejoicing that they have been summarily ejected from office, and that, through the agency of Mr. Gibson, whom their own intrigues excluded from Manchester at the last election. It gives one fresh hope when we see how God interferes in the affairs of men, and will not allow injustice permanently to triumph.

But we require important changes in India itself, all of which will perhaps be inaugurated by the great change at home. I will just sketch out a few, upon which many men of experience are agreed. No time can be more appropriate for introducing them than the present; especially in the North-West Provinces, which have been entirely conquered anew. I need not go over the changes required in the spirit and policy of the Government upon questions of religion and morals. These have been discussed already at great length, and ample reason has been shown for charging the Indian Government during its past history with having greatly injured the cause of true religion by their patronage of caste, their support of idolatry, their sale of opium, and the low standard of sound morals adopted in their system of education. It is utterly absurd for Colonel Sykes and Mr. Willoughby to answer this charge by referring to the improvement of English society in moral worth, and quoting missionary reports to show the success that Christian efforts have met with. Mr. Disraeli might just as truly claim for his party all the benefit that have followed free trade and free navigation. All these successes have been attained IN SPITE of the Court of Directors; in spite of their coldness, in spite of their opposition, offered steadily to such efforts during a long series of years. It was the House of Commons that opened India to missionaries; it was the house that sanctioned their residence; and their great defence and great safety in India are the Supreme Courts at the three Presidencies, which are courts of English law, presided over by Queen's judges. These courts underlie all English liberty in India; and you cannot wonder therefore that all the "interlopers" are averse to "Imperial legislation" and black acts. Missionaries do not want the assistance of the East India Company, but they ought not to have their name appealed to by the people as the supporters of idolatry.

1. First, then, we ought to put a stop to that *Imperial legislation* which seeks to treat Englishmen and natives exactly alike. They are not alike. They have not the same interests; they have not the same objects; they have not the same regard for truth; they have not the same self-control; the same respect for others' rights; the same public spirit; the same pleasure in seeing others prosper; the same regard for public order. Natives need not be called "niggers," nor be treated as such. But, by the side of Christian Englishmen they are children in the presence of grown men; and as we think for our children, guide them, decide for them, keep them from dangerous weapons, and do good to them even where they know it not, so may an upright English Government deal with the people of India. They should be entirely disarmed from one end of the country to the other; licenses carefully watched and annually renewed, being allowable in places where game and wild beasts abound. Englishmen should be allowed arms as such; and the value attaching to their life should continue to be exhibited by the "Norman and Saxon law," which was recently passed by the Legislative Council.

2. The *Legislative Council*, greatly improved by the last Charter Act, should be improved still further by being made more open and more independent. At present it includes the four members of the Supreme Executive, with two Queen's judges, and a member from each of the four Presidencies. All the members are officials, acquainted only with official views. But we require representatives from all classes of the community; from the merchants, planters, landholders, and others; so that different interests may be represented and cared for. A council of twenty-four or thirty members would not be too large for the work which might be done. Two or three natives of different Presidencies should also be appointed, selected with the greatest care. There exists a council of this kind in Ceylon, which answers admirably, and greatly contributes to the prosperity of the island by securing a proper Government on the spot.

3. The *Supreme Executive Council* should not be, as at present, composed of members who all have the same work to do; but should rather be formed, like the English Ministry, of members, each of whom takes a separate department, and is responsible for its proper management. In other words, the secretaries of the various departments, Judicial, Financial, Military, Home, Foreign, and Public Works, should be the best

men in the country, and form a council by themselves; the Governor-General being their President, with plenary authority to over-rule their opinions and direct the policy of each department. This is the formation of the Executive Council in Ceylon. It might be advisable to give the Legislature the privilege of condemning the proceedings of any department and getting a new man put in.

4. The system of *administering the law* requires a great change. Throughout the older provinces there prevails a system called the Regulation System, according to which a complete code of laws, both civil and criminal, and a complete code of procedure, constitute the guides of the magistrates and judges who watch over the order of the community and the preservation of their rights. In other provinces annexed more recently, as the Punjab, Assam, Saugor, Pegu, and the like, both the code of law and the system of procedure are much more simple, leave much greater latitude to the various officers, and permit them to look much more after the spirit of good government and less to formal details. The latter produces far more satisfactory results than the former. In the Regulation Provinces, officers are bound down by the letter of the law; native litigants and lawyers, with extreme cunning, take all possible advantage of legal quibbles and defects; perjury is much more prevalent; and the amount of justice administered is nothing compared to the expense and labour involved. In the Regulation Provinces, too, officers are bound to maintain a full RECORD of all their proceedings, and endless time and labour are wasted; while endless encouragement is given to fruitless "appeals" to higher courts. So great are these evils as to amount to an almost total denial of justice, in spite of all the efforts of many good men to do their duty justly. The system is utterly unsuited to the present untruthfulness of the people; and so defective is it that if every Regulation court were swept away, the country would not be a loser. Many men, therefore, of great experience, desire to see the Non-regulation or *Punjab system* introduced into the whole of India; and with all the proofs existing of its rapidity, efficiency, and suitability to the people, it is not difficult to understand what a benefit would be conferred thereby. During the past year, several new acts were passed, called for by the times, all tending to diminish the amount of record, to secure prompt trial, and to set aside the frequency of appeals. The Regulation system was thereby drawn much nearer than it ever was before to the Punjab system. But those acts were temporary, and it is to be feared that when the war is over and the acts expire the officials will return to the usual humdrum and the regulations flourish as before.

5. Among the most prominent improvements imperatively demanded in the thickly peopled provinces is an extensive *sub-division of the present enormous districts*. In some cases a single district contains a million and a half of people. For the administration of justice there are placed over them only part of a commissioner, one judge, one magistrate, two assistants, and three or four deputy magistrates. In Ceylon, where the same number of people is spread over a wider surface, perhaps forty men are employed to do the same amount of work.

6. Consequent upon this division is required a *large increase* in the number of the *civil officers*. I think the present number of covenanted civilians in all India is only about 480; uncovenanted deputy-magistrates, deputy-collectors, and judges, have been greatly increased during the last ten years; but still we have not nearly enough. If the whole European staff were doubled to-morrow, and the work of administering justice committed almost entirely to them, it would be an immense boon to the country.

7. Such a division of districts, and such an increase in the number of civil officers, would of course require a *large reduction in the present enormous and disproportionate salaries* of the higher grades among the covenanted civilians. All officers in India should be paid well; but the higher civilians receive pay greatly beyond that which is paid to the highest military officers, chaplains, and medical men. The scale of pay given in the Punjab would furnish a very good guide; it is very liberal, without being extravagant.

8. Connected with these improvements, and springing from them, there should be a *large extension of the civil service*. Such a service is necessary, and whether they come by direct appointment or as the result of competitive examination, a large number of young men should be sent from England, set apart for the special object of civil government. In order to prevent colonial jobbery, their stations and their work should continue as now to be fixed by the local Governors and Lieut.-Governors. But as it sometimes happens that men not in the service prepare themselves on the spot by a knowledge of the language and the people, a power might well be given to the Governor-General to appoint a certain number of persons, possessed of certain qualifications, annually to each Presidency; say four to Bengal, two to Madras, and two to Bombay. He would thus be able to encourage local merit by local rewards of a most substantial kind.

9. I hope we shall never have another *Native Bengal army*. The army should be *English*, substantially, including at least *sixty thousand* effective men. But inasmuch as certain duties require exposure to the sun, battalions of natives should be attached to the various divisions, to bear that part of the duty, such as sentry work and the like. They should be stokers and coal trimmers to the State engine, while the English army

does the real fighting. They will form, too, excellent police battalions; but not another native should ever be taught the management of artillery, and the whole people should be disarmed.

I merely sketch these improvements, which it will take many years to effect. We cannot hope to see them accomplished rapidly, for several of the most valued trench not only on the self-interest, but also the "experience" of men in power. Vested interests will be affected by them, and many will consider their reputation as well as their purse involved in a complete maintenance of the old system. But should they be eventually adopted, with a simple and responsible Home Government, and a clearly defined and righteous policy, then at last we may hope to see begun a long series of sound efforts to secure peace to the vast population of India, and bring real justice home to everyone's door. But the House of Commons, and through them the people of England, must watch incessantly the progress and the management of the entire system of government. They must continue what they have first begun—the attempt to ascertain the real state of things in India, and to control the misdeeds of all officials high and low. Thus the nation may endeavour steadily to fulfil, with far greater fidelity than before, the high commission afresh placed in its hands of securing to the people of this great continent all the blessings which a good earthly government can bestow. While the churches of Christ also endeavour, more fully than before, to occupy their own peculiar sphere of turning the heathen from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. The House of Commons is feared more than any thing else by Indian officials. *The House of Commons is OBEYED!*

VALEDICTORY.

With these remarks I beg now to take leave of your readers: circumstances to which I need not refer compelling me to bring these letters to an end. Believing that all the questions raised by the rebellion would possess a special interest to the religious community in England, whose missions to India bind them to the country by so many ties, I ventured to commence a correspondence that should endeavour to bring them clearly before your readers. Unexpectedly to all, whether in India or out of it, the rebellion spread instead of diminishing, and became more stirring as it went on. In spite therefore of several disagreeable interruptions, the letters have extended to no less than fifteen, and have occupied in your columns an amount of space which I could never have dared to ask for at the outset. Happy shall I be if they have helped to draw forth sympathy for the many suffering; to give correct information on the many grave topics to which the rebellion has compelled our countrymen to give heed; to stir up a warmer zeal for the spiritual regeneration of a land so fruitful in crime; and to encourage a spirit of penitence and faith under the mighty hand of chastening which the Lord has laid upon us all. Beginning with a sad, red tale of blood and murder, it is with peculiar pleasure that in this last letter I have been able to tell you of the complete capture of the rebels' last great stronghold, and of their final dispersion in scattered bands over the country at large. Of the intermediate incidents what a wondrous tale will be drawn out for the information, the admiration of future days. Taken by surprise, after the first shock was over, we see the little bands of our countrymen, scattered over North India, gather up their strength, and meet with iron fortitude the most awful calamity that modern history knows. Beleaguered by thousands of implacable enemies, thirsting for their blood, they labour by day, bear vigil by night; they fight, they starve in patience; they see their loved ones die around them, but not a man submits, not a man acknowledges himself conquered. Besiegers, they endure with calmest fortitude the privations of the camp, amid heat and rain, disease and death. A faithful few, they fight with invincible courage against myriads of foes, cut down but daily renewed, until at length perfect victory crowns their arms, and city after city acknowledges their might, and the blessing of God upon their deeds. Female heroism, too, in the fight and in the siege, has called forth fresh admiration, and been exhibited in the most conspicuous forms. Wondrous protection was spread over them all, and wondrous grace sustained their courage day by day, and to this grace it is chiefly due that our countrymen, throughout the contests of this marvellous year, have exhibited such powers, such patience; and by their deeds have added fresh honours to their name. It is for our friends at home to secure the real fruits of all this suffering and all this valour, by insisting that all the improvements required in the policy and the measures of the Indian Government shall be effected, that the crimes committed in the past, and now heavily punished, shall be committed no longer; and that India shall be governed for the glory of God, and for the good of the people whom that God has afresh entrusted to our care. Few in number, and overshadowed both by official influence and by acts of despotism, the residents in India are all but powerless to correct existing evils. But there is a power even among their countrymen to which they look for speedy and efficient redress. If India is to be governed well, such government must be secured by the *ENGLISH PRESS* and by the *HOUSE OF COMMONS*.